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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Aueti were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jaw'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great

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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibú or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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compartment in the house for six months, at the end of which time she is accepted as a young woman.[3]

Menstruation caused no special distress to the Trumaí women. They maintained personal cleanliness with the aid of leaves, going out into the brush behind the house to care for themselves. Although the relevant taboos were observed, the women talked frankly to Quain about menstruation, and were interested in learning what white women did during the period. The men, although expressing a fear of menstrual blood, did not shun the subject either. Most of them knew when women in the village were having their menses.

Everyone was extremely shocked when Quain told them that white people often had intercourse during the menstrual period, for such contact would make a Trumaí man fall ill and die. Aloari said that he would surely die of a cough if he copulated with his wife then. The blood itself was considered malignant, infecting whatever it touched. The whole village became very disturbed when Kuyafi dropped some menstrual blood on the path to the gardens. Aloari averred that he would not go for manioc until the rain washed it away.

Fear of polluting forced a menstruating woman to make frequent trips to the weeds, where nobody walked. The danger also extended to her person. During this time she was not allowed to cook, although she could sit around the fire when food was being prepared. (Quain's departure from the Trumaí village was delayed for a day as both the wife and sister-in-law of Aloari, who was to accompany him, were menstruating, and there was only one woman left in the household to make his *beijú* supply.) Nor could the menstruating woman carry water or take a bath. However, a prohibition on eating fish was the only food taboo that she had to observe.

Marriage

A man was ready to seek a mate within one or two years after his initiation, or at the corresponding age level. Women were suitable prospects soon after their puberty rites. It was common for marriages to be arranged by parents while their children were still infants. These infant betrothals were usually between cross-cousins. It is doubtful, however, whether many such arranged marriages were consummated, both because of the high mortality and the fact that most of the Trumaí women were ultimately fought for and won by verbal battles in the men's circle.

Courtships were neither long nor formalized. When a man developed an interest in a woman, he usually expressed it by attempting to seduce her. In most instances, amorous advances were made without any in-

[3] Rodrigues Ferreira 1946, p. 92.

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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)